

Role of Opposition Parties and the Press

While interpreting the law of development of human society from a dialectical materialist scientific approach Engels, in his celebrated book, "Anti-Duhring", has drawn our attention to the very essence of historic truth: "each step forward in civilisation was a step towards freedom". Analysing its real meaning and significance, Engels, showed: "Freedom does not consist in the dream of independence of natural laws, but in the knowledge of these laws and in the possibility this gives of systematically making them work towards definite ends.....Freedom therefore consists in the control over ourselves and our external nature which is founded on knowledge of natural necessity; it is therefore necessarily a product of historical development." (F. Engels—"Anti-Duhring" p. 125)

Each step forward in Civilisation—a step towards freedom

By 'control over ourselves' what Engels has specifically meant is not mere 'self-control' but control of men collectively of the totality of their social, economic and political relationships. It is by so ordering a social system where men are not to live in constant anxiety over the morrow due to anarchy in productive system as we find in a bourgeois society where production is enchained by the capitalist motive force of production which is to earn maximum profit by exploiting the labour power in the society.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, General Secretary of our Party and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, has imparted on us the valuable teachings which show the concrete historic course of man's achieving real freedom and liberation. Comrade Ghosh has shown that with the establishment of socialist society free from the coercion of capitalist exploitative productive system, man's freedom and liberties in the bourgeois sense, will definitely be enhanced, no doubt. But as long as the State remains, its coercion over individuals will also remain. In a socialist society, men's struggle for individual freedom will attain a higher historic stage by conduction of the struggle to convert the antagonistic relation between individual and the state into a non-antagonistic one through

the scientific process of cultural revolution. The objective basis for the success of this struggle in socialist society remains in the fact that there would be no alien class in command of the state apparatus against which men are required to fight for acquiring freedom and rights. So, conversion of the nature of contradiction from antagonistic to non-antagonistic one between individual and the state in socialist society, will be a big step forward in the direction of bringing an end to coercion of the state or finally its withering away.

Any achievement of freedom of man is, therefore, historically linked up with social development, with the development of productive forces both in the material and spiritual sense. This scientific law is historically verified and will be obvious to anybody who cares to trace the history of development as also the present phase of decay of bourgeois democracy that appeared as a historic product of bourgeois-democratic revolution on the material basis of private property relation and its ideological projection in freedoms and rights of individual as being inherent in Man as a rational being. This was an anti-thesis of the monopoly of power of the feudal aristocracy and monarchy as its political superstructure.

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SARAT SYMPOSIUM IN KERALA

Quilon, January 26: This year, being the Sarat Centenary year, birth centenary of the great Indian litterateur Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya is being observed even in remotest Kerala all in a befitting manner. Sarat Symposium was held yesterday here at the Y.M. C.A. Auditorium under the Presidentship of Sri P. Bhaskaran Unni, a renowned Malayalam critic with great enthusiasm and due respect.

'In Indian renaissance movement, Saratchandra was the man who raised high the banner of secular humanism in the cultural

and social field in Indian soil following the tradition of Rammohan Roy and Vidyasagar. Thus he became the true representative of the revolutionary trend of the two trends that prevailed in our independence movement namely—the compromising religious revivalist trend and the uncompromising secular democratic trend. Only if you realise and exhaust the moral ethical and cultural values practised and preached by Saratchandra you can build up a genuinely progressive cultural movement now in India', said Sri Krishna Chakraborty inaugurating the symposium organised by the Sarat Birth Centenary Celebration Committee, Quilon, formed under the initiative of AIDS, Quilon District Council.

Sri V.B.C. Nair, editor of 'Malayala Nadu', a leading cultural weekly in Malayalam, expressed the opinion that there was no other writer in whole of India who had realised the human character so fully well as Saratchandra. He also said that Saratchandra had deep psychological insight, which he did not find even in Tagore.

A resolution tabled by
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ANTI-OBSCENITY CONVENTION BY DYO

Calcutta, 10th February: Under the auspices of the Calcutta District Committee of the D. Y. O., a convention with a view to fighting out the present cultural, moral and ethical degeneration in the society specially among the young generation of the country, rampant obscenity prevailing in all walks of life—in literature, cinema, drama, posters etc. was held at the Muslim Institute Hall with great enthusiasm under the presidentship of Comrade Abdur Rouf, President of the D.Y.O. West Bengal State Committee.

The meeting started with the songs of the DYO Music Squad and thereafter Comrade Amitava Ganguly, Secretary of the Calcutta District

Committee placed his reports on the performances of DYO in various anti-obscenity movements in the past and their achievements. Before convening this convention the organisers organised a systematic campaign and as a part of it conducted a Questionnaire Survey to collect public opinion on the necessity of organising mass movement to fight out cultural degradation, find out the reasons behind it and pin-point the duties and responsibilities of a socially conscious writer, artist etc. Comrade Mrinal Mukherjee, an important member of the District Committee placed the report of the survey which reflected a tone of great interest even among the youths and students

towards the problems and eagerness to find its solution through positive answers and opinions.

Comrade Gopal Kanjilal, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, DYO as the main speaker of the meeting appealed to the youths and students irrespective of any political belief to fight resolutely against the great menace of cultural degradation in our society. For, he told that, ethical, moral and cultural standard of the workers, organisers and masses forms a vital part of all sorts of social, economic and political movements and unless and until the cultural standard of them, particularly of the youths and students

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Early Capitalism Based On Free Competition Had Individual Freedom And Liberty

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Early capitalism based on free competition had individual freedom and liberty as superstructure

The history of the rise of capitalist economy and its political superstructure bourgeois democracy reveals, therefore, not only liberation of the individual from the fetters of previous forms of economy and social bondage but the expression of this liberation was in doctrines of individual rights, the sacredness of the individual personality, the inherent social and political equality of individuals and the like. If anyone doubts this achievement of earlier capitalism he need not only turn the pages of history but also to reflect on the fact that moribund capitalism or fascism, in this third phase of general crisis, finds the need of destroying theoretically, legally, and in every other way the doctrine of individual rights and liberties. This testifies the validity of dialectical materialist law of social development. In order to have a deeper comprehension of the matter, let us turn the pages of history.

We will find that the interest of the bourgeoisie as a class and its historic role was inseparably bound up with the breaking of old feudal social order that saw in it, at a given stage of development, a sharp accentuation of contradiction between the social urge for growth of productive forces and old production relation which was insoluble within the old feudal productive system. The bourgeoisie, as a rising class and being the most advanced among other oppressed classes in feudal society came in the van of the social transformation which was consummated in the establishment of sovereign bourgeois national state defending and protecting the bourgeois class domination over other classes in the society. Bourgeois Democracy is therefore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as a class

that appeared as the historical product of bourgeois democratic revolution at a given stage of development of productive forces and in response to the social urge for growth of production, both in the material and spiritual sense of the term.

But before the bourgeoisie could consummate its class domination in the coercive state apparatus, it had to wage, for long, a serious and unremitting battle against the decadent social forces, the forces of feudal reaction, against the divine right of kingship, against feudal bondage.

The fight had to be initiated, again testifying the dialectical-materialist scientific law of social development, in the cultural, moral—ethical fields, in questioning and reexamining on the anvil of logic of social progress, the prevalent economic, political, moral and ethical codes that instilled in men a spirit of fatalistic submission to Authority without ever doubting, without ever questioning the moral validity of that Authority itself and of the various codes and injunctions it prescribed for its own survival.

It was not that easy to rouse the minds steeped with centuries-old spirit of submission to the myth of Authority, that was, however, the biggest obstructionist force to social progress. When production both in the material and spiritual sense was languishing, when there was decay all around in the economic, social, political, moral spheres, when man's mind was imprisoned in the narrow shell of bigotry and obscurantist ideas, man's social drive for change was not a thing to be easily imbibed.

In feudal society, king was in his legal person the sole repository of power, all-powerful and above law. His order was law, his whims the royal injunctions. As a parallel to this power of the king was the power of the church

having its obedience to the imperial Pope. Men, had, therefore, over their heads hanging two swords—the king's prerogative and Pope's indictment. Defence and defenders of this absolutism of the rulers had never been wanting in history and so they were there for the king or the Pope.

The usual defence was: as the sun was regulating and controlling the interplanetary discipline so in the mortal world also such a force was necessary for the regulation and discipline of social order. King was such a force, drawing his absolute authority from divine right and as such he was not accountable to the governed, he was above law as the 'king can do no wrong'.

This conception of unquestioned authority with no sense of public accountability, this absolute right not attended with social obligation could not be the last word in history. By the inexorable law of history, one day man's servile submission turned into uncompromising resistance and brought ultimate abolition or reducing monarchy to a mere figurehead or symbol. This is history, whatever was thought, irremovable, one day, was swept away just as a straw by the surging tides of social movement.

The bourgeoisie liberated the serfs from feudal bondage because it was in the best interest of development of production with which the class interest of the bourgeoisie was intermingled at this definite stage of social development. The capitalists were in need of free men in place of serfs with whom they could enter into 'freedom of contract'—to employ them as wage labours in factories and industries. Although the content of this 'freedom of contract' is bitterly tasted today by the workers in all the bourgeois societies and who are striving to free themselves from this new kind of slavery—wage

slavery, but judged in the historical perspective, it was definitely a step forward in man's struggle for freedom and emancipation.

The bourgeois democratic rule that was established in place of feudal autocracy was firmly grounded in the concept of inalienable freedom of individual and certain fundamental rights which inhere in man. These rights and freedoms of individual were either codified in laws or unwritten but accepted social codes or conventions. Capitalism was then in its early stage of development through free competition in the economy and naturally it needed for its speediest growth the superstructure of individual freedoms and rights.

The bourgeois political scientists and constitutional experts formulated concrete structure or forms of government, on the basis of fundamental republican principle which was "rule of law rather than rule of person"—thus making a clear break from monarchy.

The guiding spirit was clearly expressed by Thomas Paine by holding that "Society in every state is a blessing but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil".

Since government was therefore, indispensable and since no one could govern without power, the bourgeois thinkers in early age of bourgeois democracy devised various checks, controls, restraints and limitations of governmental actions and these became the essence of constitutionalism as the prime guarantor of human freedom. The idea about constitutionalism was that it should be concerned with how best just powers derived from the governed be used and not abused.

So, 'every body is equal in the eye of law' has been the very corner-stone of republicanism which is a decisive break from monarchy.

Explaining the 'rule of

law' instead of 'rule of persons' bourgeois political theorists have been unanimous in holding that it means the following four conditions obtaining in the society: 1) that government shall exercise their powers in conformity with known laws enacted through a regular procedure; 2) that no laws be passed to convert into offences, actions that were lawful at the time when performed; 3) that no one may be convicted on any charge save after a trial in open court; 4) that the judiciary when applying the generalities of the law to particular cases, must be independent of external pressure and control.

The bourgeois political theorists therefore, held, at one time, that "when a state does not enthrone the rule of law, the governed have no adequate protection against the whim and caprice of those in power. Tyranny, despotism or dictatorship exists when a government makes and unmakes the law without permitting public criticism or challenge".

Guided by the principle that a democratic state must be, primarily, an association of free political agents and not of serfs as in a feudal monarchy, the bourgeois political scientists and jurists, therefore, tried to safeguard this basic value in either codifying the fundamental liberties of individuals in a bourgeois state or by developing in practice certain conventions containing therein these fundamental liberties.

These fundamental liberties in a bourgeois state can be divided into two parts, personal or civil liberties and political liberties.

By personal or civil liberties have been understood personal security not only of life and health but also reputation, personal freedom especially of movement and personal property or its free use or intellectual freedom for the free expression of

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Bourgeois Democracy Once Upheld "The Core Of Democracy Is Choice And Not Something Chosen"

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thought and idea—freedom of press.

By political liberty has meant rights of constituting a government by a general act of free choice or election on the basis of universal suffrage, controlling it by a general process of discussion, in which all have equal share. It has also meant limitation of prerogative of the head of the state, right to appeal to the courts of justice for the redress of grievances, the power of petitioning the government for redress and having and using arms for self-preservation and defence.

So, from this spirit of freedom and the concept that every government is built upon a contingent moral obligation and that its actions are right to the degree they maintain man's inalienable fundamental rights, it was stipulated in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776: "To secure the rights, governments are instituted among men deriving the just powers from the consent of the governed."

"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Bourgeois political thinkers of the early stage of capitalism and bourgeois democracy accepted therefore, that man's obedience to political authority was not absolute but contingent on fulfilment of basic rights and man was therefore justified "to enter into measures of resistance..... when the probable mischief of resistance (speaking with respect to the Community in general) appear less to him than the probable mischief of obedience."

Reflecting this outlook about freedom, "New York Times" could one day write editorially:

"Freedom means difference of opinion. It means

change. We differ, experiment and change under a constitution—rigid only in its basic protection. We shall never be unanimous. We can never achieve a perfect and finished form of society, we do not even want to, for to do so would be to arrive at stagnation and death in life. We seek for the ultimate justice, we move towards it. We never reach it. Always the new questions arise, always the recurring doubt. It is only of freedom itself, of the democratic method that we dare not doubt". (New York Times—editorial Aug 25, 1940)

Bourgeois democracy, once, accepted the importance of the opposition parties.

The bourgeois political theorists of this liberal tradition have all agreed that by democracy the usual assumption must be that behind the actual legal sovereign lies an ultimate general sovereign, that supreme force, which is nothing more or less than public opinion.

And this public opinion can only be made effective not by imposition but by sustaining the natural process of social thought. The process of social thought is naturally and necessarily a process of discussion.

Bourgeois democracy in its earlier phase of free competition has always upheld the supreme importance of debate and discussions between the different ideas, "When they meet together" and come in contact with one another and on their competition in peace attained through such debate and discussion.

Acceptance of this democratic system presupposes the acceptance of the role and importance of Party system. The proponents of bourgeois democratic system have admitted that as against the distinctive character of democratic government, "The distinctive character of Imperialism i.e. caesarism or dictatorships is the unity of its power, not the

individuality of the person in whom it is vested. If the whole power of the state be centred in one body, if thought and speech and action depend upon the will of one person or one set of person, that government.....is an absolute government". (Hearn—"The Government of England").

Bourgeois Democracy once, upheld—"The Core of Democracy is Choice and not something chosen."

The bourgeois theorists of earlier liberal trend have shown that the fascists have always tried to confuse the people by identifying acquiescence with 'will'. And by that, "The will of people is set up as a mystical God, in whose name the political priests of a new oligarchy struggle and rule."

(Mc. Iver-'Modern State')

So, they have asserted that, "The core of democracy is, therefore choice and not something chosen, choice among a number of ideas and choice, too of the scheme on which those ideas are eventually composed". And "its method which is also its essence consists in holding together a number of different ideas with a view to comparison and composition of their difference".

(Ernest Barker—"Principles of Social and Political Theory").

The role of a party or for that matter of opposition in bourgeois democracy as defined by the bourgeois theorists, therefore constitutes in its being "a reservoir for the collection of a set of connected ideas from the area of voluntary society" and also as a "political conduit or channel" by which the ideas so collected from the social field, "flow from their social reservoir into the system of the state and turn the wheels of political machinery in that system", without, however, disturbing the class domination of the bourgeoisie in any way.

The bourgeois theorists have therefore admitted in theory in so far as the basic bourgeois exploitative productive relation and motive force of production are not disturbed in the slightest manner, the necessity of maintaining the general process of social discussion which must include a number of different ideas and therefore plurality of parties unless the very process becomes self-contradictory. As one of them has put it: "When social thought develops more than two trends of opinion it will be necessary to have more than two parties even though the presence of more than two parties may involve coalition and short-lived governments. It will be a pity, if **raison de government** were allowed to have the last word, and if the whole rational process of social thought and social discussion were subordinated to that **raison**."

(Barker)

From this angle of fundamental democratic process of social thought and progress, the bourgeoisie in the early stage, upheld the valuable role of opposition and freedom of Press as the sentinel of people's rights and guarantor of social progress as against unbridled power of the bureaucracy and social stagnation.

Indeed, the measure of the degree of freedom of opposition or for that matter the test of working of this democratic method has been held to lie in the degree of freedom and liberties that the Press enjoys in practice.

Bourgeois Democracy, one day, accepted the role of free press as 'Sentinel of People's Rights'

As an organiser of public opinion and conscience against tyranny and injustice, as a crusader against debauchery of power by the rulers, as a champion of people's freedom against unjust rule, the press has undoubtedly

played a glorious role, be it in social reforms or revolution, against the bourgeoisie or against the alien imperialist rule.

The bourgeoisie couldn't but acknowledge this creative role of a free press and therefore vested it with the appellation "Fourth Estate" in recognition of its role as the 'Nation's Conscience-Keeper' as the "Sentinel of people's rights".

It is also equally true, however, that like the bourgeoisie in the present epoch of moribund capitalism and proletarian revolution, conservative social forces in every decadent order and of unjust rule have always been apprehensive about this role of the free press. History is therefore replete with instances that whenever the rulers, the ruling class have found that the very moral validity of their rule has been under serious challenge by the rising social force for change, they have sought to throttle the voice of dissent, the urge for social change.

Attacks against Freedom of Press during National Movement

This was seen during our national movement. In the very early stage when the nascent nationalist thinking was even in the early stage of formation, the British imperialist rulers imposed restrictions on the freedom of press in order to muzzle it.

Raja Rammohun Roy, the pioneer of Renaissance movement in our country, himself an editor of few national journals and periodicals and who was wielding his pen and organ for bourgeois social reforms against feudal bigotry, evil customs and social injustice voiced loud protest against this uncivilised attack on freedom of press. Many nationalist journals and weeklies were closed in protest against this uncivilised action of the government. Rammohun himself did so. His letter to the Governor-General is a historic document in

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Bourgeois Democracy One Day Accepted The Role Of Free Press As Sentinel Of People's Rights

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the struggle for freedom in our country and bears testimony to the spirit of freedom that was ingrained in the mind of that giant among men of the age.

Later, when the national movement was in full stream, the British rulers again brought down serious restrictions on the freedom of Press but under a new cover. This enactment said in effect that criticisms against the Government would be allowed but only upto the point that they must be constructive in as much as they must not bring the Government to disrepute, they must not create a feeling of disfavour or disaffection against the government.

It was therefore a wide net which could catch any thing and anybody under the sun.

Gandhiji himself was found to have created disaffection against the British rulers for his writing four articles in "Young India" and in March, 1922 he had to stand in open trial for his so-called guilt before the British Session Judge of Ahmedabad District Court.

The great litterateur Sarat Chandra, an ardent advocate of the uncompromising trend within our national liberation movement castigated the government's act with bitter irony and pungent humour. Sarat Chandra's inimitable style and language defy exact communication in translation. But let us try. Sarat Chandra wrote:

"From the Governor-General down to the constable, everybody is assuring us that they are not as such opposed to truthful expression. Justified criticisms, even if bitter and pungent, are not barred—but the speeches and writings must be such as would not evoke feelings of discontent and anger against the government, as would not ruffle the minds of those who read or hear. That means, you are enjoined upon to

narrate the facts and instances of torture and injustice in such a way as by reading or hearing those, the hearts of the British subjects are filled with joy and exhilaration, they are surcharged with emotion of love after they know of the causes for their dire poverty and destitution. And if such reactions are not forthcoming then the conclusion will be that it was not criticism but sedition. Quite understandable though, how this impossible can be made possible!"

However much Sarat Chandra might have pinpointed the ridiculous inconsistency in the fear complex of the rulers of a decadent social orders, such ridiculous inconsistencies are but natural for the rulers of unjust rule who can hardly mark this inconsistency in their futile exercises on self-justifications but those inconsistencies, this pathetic caricature are marked only by the forces of social progress.

So, we find in crisis-ridden bourgeois societies, the press is being increasingly muzzled, the freedom and liberty of expressions, of thoughts and ideas are being severely curtailed, mutilated and gagged even though the formal independence of the Press is being maintained.

And it is the bourgeoisie that fought one day, for the freedom of expressions and thoughts, for the freedom of the Press when attacks on those rights and liberties came down heavily from the alien rulers and feudal autocracy.

It is they, who even after attainment of political freedom, swore solemnly by their adherence to democratic principles, liberty and freedom of thoughts, ideas and their expression. They were then, fighting for social change and progress and therefore did not develop the fear complex about those freedoms which they do now, as decadent social forces in the changed context.

What freedom of press means in a bourgeois Society

In a class-divided bourgeois society, the means of production as also the state power are monopolised by the ruling bourgeois class. Because of this even when the freedom of Press is accepted in principle, such freedom has meaning only in class-term. It is bourgeoisie and their parties backed by money power and political influence, enjoy this freedom and monopolise the Press, Radio, Cinema, TV and all other mass media. The newspapers and journals of the oppressed class can hardly compete with the money power and political patronage, the bourgeois parties enjoy. Nor their views and opinions have any access to all these mass-media which are either controlled fully by the government or run by monopoly capital.

These mass media are in the active service of the bourgeois class. They disseminate the one-sided views, of the bourgeois parties, particularly the party in power. They dish out distorted news and views, morbidity, criminal mentality, degraded moral and ethical values, vulgar tastes, ego-centrism, sex-perversion and all sorts of rotten elements of decadent bourgeois culture with the definite object of polluting the cultural-moral life and thereby to obstruct the process of social progress.

The bourgeoisie know it very well that only an organised social force with revolutionary fervour on the strength of higher moral and ethical values that can be the real motive force of social transformation. But if the oppressed people are morally-culturally crippled then they can not be able to raise their heads against worst sort of tyranny and oppression.

The bourgeoisie as social force of reaction in the present stage of monopoly capitalism are mortally afraid of social progress and the liberties and free-

doms that would be conducive to social change as it will inevitably sweep them out of power.

For this, they are trampling under foot all the democratic norms and conduct, liberty and freedom for which, at one time they fought and even declared them to be the very essence of civilised society.

Therefore, the bourgeoisie are putting obstacles one after another to freedom of thoughts and expressions. In some bourgeois countries the freedom of the press is formally accepted but the press know it very well how the retribution comes if they dare criticise the various omissions and commissions of the government at the dictates of conscience. The usual method followed, is discrimination in the matter of distribution of advertisements. It can immediately bring about a financial crisis for the paper. The screw can further be tightened in the matter of distribution of newsprint quota which may spell the danger of closure. Besides, there are so many covert devices of arm-twisting.

In some other bourgeois countries, intervention comes directly by enjoining on the press that criticism is all right but it can not be such as can evoke feeling of bitterness, disaffection or discontent against the government.

Restrictions of Freedom of Press—What they mean in bourgeois Society

The standing inconsistency between this kind of restriction and the fundamental democratic method, accepted at least in theory, in any bourgeois democracy is quite obvious. While according to the accepted democratic principle a party may come to power drawing authority from the people but it is only temporary in nature and not like a 'permanent settlement'. It is therefore, within the fundamental rights as also in discharge of due role on the part of

the parties in the opposition, to criticise the various omissions and commissions, corrupt practices, the inadequacies and incongruities in the policies etc. of the party in power and the government run by it, in order to mobilise public opinion for bringing change in the government as also its acts and policies through a fairly conducted election. But when this fundamental democratic method is not formally repudiated but restriction on the very process of mobilising public opinion is imposed, it means the repudiation of the very democratic method in reality.

In some cases, the restriction on the freedom of the press comes under a different cover. The press is enjoined upon to be constructive in their criticisms. And it does not remain a secret as to who will decide whether the criticism is constructive or otherwise. Usually, a bureaucrat that is to say a paid official is assigned with the role of a judge to decide whether the opinion or views of a paper is constructive or not. And as the paid official, for obvious reasons, pays unflinching loyalty to the party in power, the restriction means in effect that the party in power will decide what will be allowed to be published or not.

Again, the so-called plea of criticism being constructive or not, has always come from the conservative social force, the forces of reaction and decay that stand as biggest obstacle to social transformation. The imperialist rulers, one day, demanded it, the feudal autocracy also demanded it of the bourgeoisie who are now demanding it. The bourgeois political thinkers debunked this so-called claim for constructive criticism by showing not only the standing inconsistency in the claim itself but also made no mistake in declaring the truth that when the very social order becomes the

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WHERE LIES THE SOLUTION

"Acting on reports of a crisis in West Bengal's Jute industry, the centre has appointed a committee that will make quick study of the problems and suggest immediate measures to ward off an imminent closure of mills and retrenchment.

"What has worried the centre most are 'reports from responsible agencies', according to a Union Commerce Ministry source that four jute mills in West Bengal have either closed or are on the verge of closure and a 'number of others are so sick that they may have to cut production considerably.' This could mean loss of employment for more than 10,000 workers."

(Statesman, Jan. 30, '76)

And why the crisis? "A spokesman said in Calcutta on Thursday that though the industry's production averaged 105,000 tons of jute goods a month, the monthly sale did not exceed 85,000 tonnes.....

"Projections by the industry and Union Commerce Ministry indicate that foreign exchange earnings from jute goods exports will not exceed Rs. 228 crores this year, against last year's Rs. 294 crores. The Jute Commissioner said that the month-end stocks with the mill godowns at November end had been a little over 136,000 tonnes....."

(Statesman, January 30, '76)

But is only the jute industry facing such crisis? No. "The bipartite National Industrial Committee on textiles for the private sector has decided to set up an expert body to look into the financial position of all textile units immediately...

"The committee is anxious to avoid closures and in the interest of continuity of employment and production, it has recommended that the Reserve Bank of India should advise the financing banks to make necessary funds available to the mills."

(Statesman, January 29, '76)

But this too is not the

whole picture. "Massive unemployment is building up in the auto parts and ancillary industries due to the present unprecedented crisis in the automobile industry". (Sunday Standard January 4, 1976.)

"The wagon Industry—which not long ago, was a major element in Eastern India's economy—is now in the doldrums. If it continues so for much longer, the industry's survival will be in doubt...

"What is the industry to do in the circumstances? Texmaco, of the Birla group, has already threatened that it would be forced to retrench about 2000 workers, unless it gets more orders to keep the factories producing to adequate capacity. It is also believed to have sounded the state government about handing over the running of the company to the state....."

"The industry has an installed capacity for manufacturing about 29000 four-wheelers a year. But during the last few years off take by the railways has varied between 9000 and 12000 four-wheelers. Till now, carried over orders have somehow kept the industry going. But with the order book getting thinner and thinner, the industry is now in real difficulty.....

"From time to time, the Railway Ministry oracles hold forth that the future of the industry lies in exports..." (Economic and Political Weekly, December 27, 1975).

But unfortunately there is too much competition in the international market—so export possibilities are not very bright either as a general rule to-day.

And the government is rushing all sorts of help to rescue the drowning industries—but in the past these helps have proved futile.

"The Government's package of incentives to new sugar factories in the Fifth Plan will cost the exchequer about Rs. 990 crores. Of this, about Rs. 577 crores is by way of

concessional excise duty and Rs. 413 crores by way of extra realisations from additional free sugar entitlements." (Financial Express, January 3, 1976).

"The textile mills which have exported more than 20 percent of the civil deliveries during the quarter ended December 1975 will be given a proportionate exemption from their obligation of producing controlled cloth during January-March 1976 period." (Financial Express, January, 14, '76.)

That is not all. "The Industry Ministry is proposing to approach the Finance Ministry to provide Rs. 55 crores to resuscitate about 300 medium-sized industrial units, other than the textile mills and mini-steel plants." (Financial Express, January 15, '76.)

Statesman in its editorial titled "Financing Sick Units" dated January 31, 1976 said, "The problems considered at the meeting of representatives of financial institutions and industrial consultants in regard to finding finance for 'sick' units are very familiar and the various solutions tried periodically have only partially rehabilitated the closed or weak units, especially in West Bengal...and the main issues are whether the 'sick' units can be made viable with the old product mix or be allowed to diversify output with new equipment or in extreme cases, be allowed to close down....

"The directive to the banks to open a reserve fund for lending to 'sick' industries at concessional rates and the suggestion to freeze interest rates to lighten their burden some of the new elements in the strategy now recommended.

"As regards the reserve fund, it will be appropriate to ask, what happened to the facilities specially created for helping 'sick' units through the establishment of the Industrial Reconstruction Corporation of India (an affiliate of the

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

"The most significant gains have been in the economic front and in the vital sphere of national discipline at all levels. For the first time in many years the country has enjoyed a prolonged spell of freedom from strikes, gherrao, bundhs and other similar actions." (President's 27th Republic Day Message)

—Statesman, 26.1.76.

The Labour Minister, Mr. Raghunath Reddy said in the Rajya Sabha that according to 1971 census the number of unemployed persons reckoned at 18.7 million. Of the total unemployed 16.1 million persons, were in the rural areas (7.6 million males, and 8.5 million females). Over six lakhs industrial workers were injured during the period between 1972 and 1974 in accidents in the country, the labour minister said. Out of this about 1,530 proved fatal.

Economic Times—17.1.76.

Although workers in general gave their full co-operation to maintain the tempo of production, instances of lay-off, retrenchment and closures increased considerably since the proclamation of Emergency, Mr. Raghunath Reddy, the Union labour minister, told reporters in Calcutta on Monday.

—From Amrita Bazar Patrika, February 10.

In his report recommending President's Rule in Tamil Nadu, the Governor Mr. K.K. Shah, has suggested the appointment of a commission to inquire into "serious allegations" of corruption and misuse of power and authority by members of the dismissed DMK Ministry, reports Samachar.

Statesman, 3.2.76.

New Delhi, February 2: At to-day's meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, several members placed for association of M.P.s and State Legislatures with the implementation of the 20 Point economic programme..... The meeting was presided over by C.M. Stephane, Deputy leader. Mrs. Gandhi was present.

According to a party release, Mrs. Vasanto Sathé spoke of the accountability and responsibility of party members. "We cannot wriggle out and say that we are the supervisory. The administrative machinery should completely be sub-ordinated to the party cadre. P.M.s and M.L.A.s should be picked up as commissioners and administrators. The nomenclature is not important but the function of the party man is."

—Statesman, 3.2.76.

The non-official Bill, moved by the independent member, Mr. D.L. Sengupta sought to abolish lotteries on the ground that they were making people addict to them "just as people become addict to liquor."

Mr. Om Mehta, who was intervening in the debate...said he did not consider lotteries as gambling. —Economic Times 17.1.76.

With the bumper harvest of foodgrains throughout the country this year is going to be a year of plenty. This has created problems of storage for the Food Corporation of India, its Managing Director, Mr. A. K. Dutt, told Press Conference today.

—Financial Express, January 8, 1976

It may not be a surprise if new crop wheat is available at Rs. 100 in Gujrat in the current year as against the present price of Rs. 190 per quintal, thanks to the bumper crop. —Financial Express, January 8, '76

The Union Minister of food and Agriculture, Mr. Jagjivan Ram has stated that India would import wheat this year to meet wheat shortage.—Financial Express, January 10, '76

The Union Law Minister, Mr. H.R. Gokhle, has said on many occasions (most recently at the All India Lawyer's conference at Chandigarh) that he favours appointment of judges who are committed to the ideology of the party in power. What would happen to such committed

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Attacks Against Freedom Of Press During National Movement

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fount of all sorts of oppression, degeneration and decay, it becomes the first step to construction to remove it. If the old and out-worn does not yield place to new, it becomes the first charge for men in the society to force it out of the way and thereby to remove the obstacle to the stream of social charges to flow.

Sometimes the bourgeoisie argue that should it not be right to regulate and control a newspaper which indulges in irresponsible comments and spreads canards? The answer is obvious enough. If the rulers are really so disturbed by unethical and irresponsible comments, do they think that the solution lies in cutting the very root of freedom of the Press? Do they agree or not that unethical and irresponsible comments come from poverty of idea and low ethical and moral standard? These do not reflect healthy ideology and high moral and ethical values and therefore are not supportable. But the scientific way of preventing this trend is to uplift the moral and ethical standards of the people. But a question still persists.

When the bourgeois rulers raise this point of plausible justification, is there modicum of sincerity in it? Or is it nothing but a cover behind which the real motive is to throttle the voice of dissent, however logical and ethical it may be? Why do we say so? We say this because we see in our daily experiences that the bourgeoisie are pampering, they are patronising in every possible means printing and giving wide circulation of unethical and morbid ideas, low and degraded tastes in sex-life, in writings, posters, films and other mass media. Indeed, obscene literature, cinema, cabaret dance etc. which reflect cultural degradation and decay have become a lucrative field for capital investments. No wonder that the vendors of these co-

mmodities can hardly want a restriction on circulation of their commodities.

We say this, because we know that the bourgeoisie who are mortally afraid of the social transformation which will sweep clear these ugliness and moral depravity along with the immoral exploitative capitalist productive system that breeds them, are just trying to buy their time by perverting the social morality, by polluting cultural atmosphere and thereby to set obstacle in the path of social progress. They also know that so long the oppressed people are not conscious of their historic role in the emancipation of the society along with their own, they remain slaves to the exploitative capitalist system and its concomitant evils—moral and cultural degeneration and decay. And this consciousness about the historic role of the proletariat and other exploited strata come to them from without, from the noble ideology of scientific socialism and its kernel, high moral and ethical values that a party of the proletariat can alone represent in the social process of transformation. The biggest hurdle, therefore, that the bourgeoisie sets before this social process of transformation is by destroying the minimum moral and ethical norm of the society. This is true in all the bourgeois democracies in the present third stage of general crisis of capitalism.

The proletarian party, therefore, unlike the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties which are the parties of the status quo, that is to say, the parties that want to keep this bourgeois social order intact, is quite conscious about the significance and importance of democratic norm and code of conduct. And therefore whether it is in government or in opposition, strives not only to uphold them but to expand the sphere of freedom and liberties that help accelerating the process of

social transformation. It does so, not from any political exigency as is the case with, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties who are only engaged in bitter rivalry for place and position in the bourgeois government without feeling any moral or political obligation towards helping the fundamental social transformation of the bourgeois social order. So, often it can be seen that the parties who are so much vociferous about liberty and freedom while in the opposition do not hesitate for a moment to deny those liberties and freedom to their opponents when they are in the Government.

But, in a bourgeois democratic system, if the healthy intellectual atmosphere of free exchange of ideas and view points, debates and polemic, a democratic spirit and logical mental make-up prevail it encourages bigger masses to actively participate in political and social issues and thereby help the process of upliftment of the level of consciousness and as also the cultural-ethical standards. Bigger and still bigger masses become active political agents—the goal, one day, even the bourgeoisie set before the bourgeois-democracy.

In the changed perspective of monopoly capitalism or moribund capitalism when the bourgeoisie have become the forces of reaction, they are depending more and more on the coercive instruments and showing scant regard for liberties and freedom of individuals, democratic norms and values.

In this concrete situation, whichever party, be it a bourgeois party or a petty-bourgeois party in the opposition, under cover of whatever radical slogans, shows the trend of destroying the basic democratic norm and principles and thereby artificially swelling its strength for the moment it is in reality revealing nothing but fascist mental make-up and trend of thoughts.

The so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie are increasingly resorting to fascist methods and technics under cover of so-called radical slogans and vague socialist cliches in order to confuse the masses before destroying the minimum democratic social-political atmosphere. The trend of fascism, in the post war situation has become universal feature in all the bourgeois democracies, relatively backward or advanced.

Our Party's Efforts For The Acceptance of a Democratic Code of Conduct In Political Life

It is precisely for these reasons, our party made some concrete suggestions to the political movement of our country and tried our best for the adoption of a democratic code of conduct by all the political parties. We urged upon the leftist parties in particular to realise the danger of fascist trends in our political life and in view of this to take up seriously our suggestions for developing healthy democratic convention, code of conduct and an intellectual atmosphere free from blindness and fanaticism which would definitely work as a deterrent to fascist trend and method.

During the U. F. Government in West Bengal, whenever any party under cover of so-called militant slogans and postures resorted to tirade, hate-campaign and even armed attack and physical coercion against its opponent parties, we not only came out openly in our principled opposition to the crude methods but also explained the serious danger that lay in this undemocratic approach and activities.

We warned these parties that the people who expected of them, democratic conducts and spirit would be sorely disappointed at their undemocratic and unethical conducts and behaviours. And once these undemocratic and unethical conducts and behaviours on the part of these politi-

cal parties become a usual feature for the people to see, the political field in our country would be very much polluted and this situation could be fully exploited by a reactionary bourgeois party if it comes to power. It would then pamper and patronise such unethical and undemocratic activities and bigger section of the people would fall victim to undemocratic and unethical habits and conducts or those still retaining the democratic spirit, would lose all interests in political issues and activities. It would mean inevitably a big set-back for progressive movement. This set-back comes in another bigger way.

As a reaction to this vile political atmosphere another fallacious trend of thought gains ground in bourgeois democracy. This trend of thought cultivated and propagated by the so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie finds its followers particularly among the frustrated sections of petty-bourgeois intelligentsia who out of their false notion about security think that solution to this state of affairs lies in military dictatorship. They, therefore, become enthusiastic supporters of military dictatorship in a country, forgetting the basic truth that military, in the present phase as a coercive organ of the ruling bourgeois class defends the bourgeois rule that stands as the main obstacle to social progress.

The so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie, who brings fascism in a country, exploits particularly this frustration, adverse reaction and confused thinking of the said sections of petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. They raise the deceptive slogans of 'resurrection of national spirit' 'necessity of discipline', 'national unity' so on and so forth to further their fascist designs.

Recalling the timely warning of our party

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Fascism, which is Universal Feature in the Capitalist World Today, Destroys Individual Liberties and Freedom

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which went unheeded by the left social democratic parties and about the imminent threat of fascism, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker said in course of his speech in 1973 that fascism is a queer admixture of spiritualism, obscurantist thoughts and illogical bent of mind with only the technological aspect of science. Before that catastrophe can take place, the logical bent of mind among people dies out in a country. And for this reason, Comrade Ghosh reminds us that he on behalf of our party struck a timely and serious note of caution to the leftist movement in our country against those leftists who, shutting all doors against discussion and debates would try to take recourse to crude tactics of physical coercion in the short-sighted calculation of gaining numbers to swell artificially their strength. As they are numerically speaking, bigger parties, the coercive tactics may pay dividend, for the time being. They, do not allow, others to freely express their thoughts and ideas. They do not heed to others logic and view-points. The rank and file of these parties are so trained up that they lose the power of reasoning and logical bent of mind and who in their turn, also destroy those of other people. Do they know by resorting to this crude method, what incalculable harm, they commit to the society—Comrade Ghosh categorically posed this question. Comrade Ghosh has shown that when the logical bent of mind dies out, reactionary ideas and thoughts get the chance of easiest inroad to social life, on the one hand, perverting the logical minds into fanatics with the poison of ultra-nationalism, and on the other, mixing the old traditionalist ideas and sentiments with vague vocabularies of socialism, with slogans of so-called revolution and progress,

and these three ingredients fused together, will be sufficient to provide the ideological-cultural base of fascism.

Comrade Ghosh therefore warns that it should therefore, be always remembered that before the ruling bourgeoisie succeeds in doing this neatly, in a country and confuse the intelligentsia completely, the logical bent of mind that argues and tests everything on the anvil of scientific reasoning has really disappeared. This is a situation which provides the most congenial intellectual atmosphere for fascism to raise its head. So, an intellectual atmosphere of uncompromising opposition to illogical bent of mind, thoughts and ideas together with constant cult of science and history, discussions and polemic between different ideas and thoughts, free exchange of respective view points and debate on those must prevail. Only this kind of intellectual atmosphere can serve as a bulwark against the conspiracy of the fascists to entrench into social life.

Fascism, which is universal feature in the capitalist world today, destroys individual liberties and freedom

From our discussions, it will be obvious that the bourgeoisie who, in early stage of capitalism, when competition in the economy was the rule, were the upholder of liberty and freedom, of democratic norm and conduct, are in the present third stage of general crisis, in the general condition of crisis-ridden capitalist economic, trampling upon those democratic values, liberties and freedom.

The political superstructure of individual freedom and liberty had its material base in the Laissez-faire capitalist economy which permitted free competition in the economic field. But by the inexorable law of development of capitalism, mono-

poly and finance capital appeared at definite stage. Following the growth of monopoly, the capitalist class, in different countries on the face of growing all-out crisis has brought about coalescence of private monopoly capital with state capital, making the state subservient to the interest of monopoly capital. So, the earlier superstructure of wider democracy is giving way to more and more centralisation of political power, regimentation and rigidities in the present stage of bourgeois democracy. Fascism, has become a general phenomenon in the whole capitalist world.

Bourgeoisie are, therefore, removing in the present time, one after another different checks and balances as well as the definite safeguards for protecting rule of law and fundamental democratic rights and liberties which were once considered to be the very essence of democratic rule in a bourgeois society by the political theorists.

Bourgeoisie are also destroying the democratic norm and methods in the political life by virtually bringing to an end of multi-party system and free exchange of views and ideas of the different parties and also trial of strength in free elections.

Instead, two bourgeois parties are mutually contending with each other and there is but occasional change of place in the government by either of them which implies very little change in the adherence of democratic method and principle.

So, constitutional dictatorship and two-party system are but deceptive tricks of fascism which can be seen working in many bourgeois democracies.

As the bourgeoisie are thus resorting to the deceptive means of subverting the democratic norms and conducts as also liberties and freedom using the very constitution so also an opposite trend among bourgeois parties and ele-

ments can be found who seek the solution through constitutional or legal battles only.

The usual trend they reflect, in sum and substance, means that it is not the system as such that is at fault but men at the helms of affairs who are guilty and that their individual guilts and offences can be remedied by fights confined only within legal or constitutional spheres.

"It is primarily politics that determines law"

That this approach is unscientific and impractical will be obvious to those who are in the know of scientific law of social development which we have discussed. But concrete experiences are becoming so very overwhelming that even some of the bourgeois theorists can not deny this scientific law. One of them, writes, therefore: "It is primarily politics that controls and determines law and not law that determines politics. It is not any rule of law or respect for constitutionalism that gives birth to a politically free society but rather the politics of freedom that creates the sanction for constitutionalism and law. What has been called 'the firmament of law' is not self supporting. It is propped up on political pillars.

(Lipson-'Great Issues Of Politics')

A proletarian party understands the scientific law of development of society and freedom and can, therefore, alone be a consistent fighter of democratic principles and norms which in the concrete historic perspective, the bourgeoisie being mortally afraid of fundamental social transformation, are destroying. The democratic norms and values, they fear, will help the process of social change.

A proletarian party has, therefore set before it, the goal and class objective of the proletariat which is to bring about a fundamental transformation of

the exploitative bourgeois society. It is the consistent upholder of the historic truth that only in a proletarian socialist productive system that the working people can get their real liberation and where freedom of mankind will take a big stride.

A proletarian party, therefore understands the true value and significance of preserving whatever democratic liberties and freedom are obtainable even in the class-divided and crisis-ridden bourgeois democracies, as they do not obstruct but rather help the acceleration of the process of social transformation. And for this, a proletarian party's adherence to democratic norms and principles is neither a political exigency nor just a verbal adherence. It is reflected in its daily practice, concrete code of conduct and behaviour.

In the historic continuity of the highest bourgeois democratic values and liberties, after fully exhausting them and with a definite historic break will emerge proletarian democracy, created in the material condition of the socialist society, freeing production from bourgeois profit motive and anarchy in production.

The historic course which will bring about man's liberation.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era has taught us that contradiction that exists between the individual interest and the social interest is antagonistic in nature. And so, even after the problems relating to production and other issues being resolved in a true socialist economy, so long this antagonistic nature of this contradiction will remain, the state being the coercive instrument in the society will not disappear. Even after the disappearance of class as an economic category, as Comrade Ghosh has shown, but for

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Sarat Symposium in Kerala

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Sri Pazhangalam Badurddin President of the Celebration Committee and supported by Sri C.K. Lucose demanding the government to set up a committee consisting of competent persons for the translation of Saratchandra into Malayalam from original and for the scrutiny of all already translated ones, to publish low-priced editions subsidized by the government of such books, to ensure that all school, college library and public institutions can get such works of Saratchandra through government subscriptions was unanimously accepted.

In his welcome address,

Anti-Obscenity Convention By DYO

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are uplifted all those movements will be of no avail. He reminded that this has been thought by all great men—both humanist and communist like Rabindranath and Saratchandra and from Marx to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher and an eminent marxist thinker of the era, who has best concretised this lesson on our soil and told that the very soul and essence of every lofty ideals and ideology is imbedded in the ethical and cultural standard of it.

Comrade Bhaskar Gupta, Calcutta District Secretary of the AIDSO also spoke in the convention. He also pointed out that vested interests in

Bourgeois Democracy

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the existence of individualism, the state will not wither away. And this will arrest the emancipation of the individual. So, after the complete victory of socialism, the main aim of the struggle for the emancipation of the individual will be to transform the antagonistic nature of contradiction existing between the individual necessity and social necessity into a contradiction of non-antagonistic nature. It is only by achieving a complete success in this

Prof. N. K. Rajagopal, member, Kerala University Senate said that they had organised the symposium not only to evaluate a writer but also to initiate a new cultural movement based on higher moral, ethical values which is so much necessary particularly at this situation when the whole country is pervaded with a deep cultural crisis.

Among others who spoke were Sri J. James Janardhana Kurup, Aryadu Gopi, Dr. P. K. Sukumaran, Prof. (Dr.) K.C. Sarasama, T. Vijoyakumar, Secretary of the Celebration Committee extended Vote of thanks.

the society are all through encouraging and indulging obscenity and cultural degradation to demoralise the young generation and the masses who would fight against all sorts of injustice, tyranny and it is the masses, specially the youths and students of the country who will launch a crusade against this conspiracy.

The convention adopted two immediate programmes for organising cultural propaganda like debates, symposium, etc. on cultural degradation, its causes and remedies and for organising protest movements against staging obscene drama, cinema, cabaret show in public places, obscene postering and like that.

struggle through cultural revolution that a basic and qualitative transformation of individual's necessity, his desire and its fulfilment and of his mental make-up, habits and manners, can be achieved. In socialism, the state that is the coercive instrument can wither away only after attaining this stage in cultural revolution. It is then and then only, that man will become truly emancipated from all sorts of social coercion. Liberation of mankind will, then, become a reality.

WHERE LIES THE SOLUTION

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IDBI).....It has so far sanctioned Rs. 28 crores and disbursed Rs. 20 crores besides arranging Rs. 25 crores from banks and other institutions—such assistance has covered 99 units employing 76,368 workers...It may be that the situation is baffling in some cases because it is hard to take a decision about closure if the units concerned cannot be made viable."

So, despite help the industries are not recovering from the crisis—the crisis has become chronic. There is no way out from this crisis—the crisis generating from the capitalist motive of production, i.e. the motive of earning maximum profit. All government helps to the sick units in the past in all fields of production could not restore the industries from the crisis.

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judges if the party in power at the time of their appointments were defeated at the next election? Elections have to be held every five years and there is no guarantee that the same party would be re-elected.

A judge is appointed to serve till he attains the age of superannuation. Will the party in power be entitled to terminate his services if he is not committed to its ideology? If not, are the judges in self interest, expected to watch and study the changing political scene? Or else what does the Law Minister suggest they do measure themselves about the future?

There is another question. When judges are known to be committed does the minister believe that lawyers will be able to influence their decisions by the strength of their legal arguments? If judge's

True freedom and liberation of mankind will come, only by following this scientific course of development, determined by history.

The sugar units had been enjoying many concessions, yet they are to be extended further concessions. Why?

"Even though the (1974-75) season closed with a large stock of 12.21 lakh tons (of sugar), against 8.28 lakh tons last year, total releases for internal consumption during the season were less at 34.6 lakh tons against 35.2 lakh tons during the last season".

(The Economic Times, December 27, 1975)

Same lack of internal consumption is observed in textile, jute and other commodity articles.

And this lack of internal consumption and thereby the huge stockpile does not mean that the manufacturing units are producing to the full installed capacity, on the contrary the industries are manufacturing much below

PRESS CLIPPINGS

verdict can be predicted, will any lawyer accept a brief or will there be litigants? (From a letter to the Editor)
—Statesman, 2.2.76.

The Ministry for Law, Justice and Company Affairs has expressed its inability to answer a question on big monopoly houses, because of certain "practical difficulties". Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi had asked for the number of cases of complaints filed during emergency against big monopoly houses, particularly in jute, textile and tobacco.

Economic Times, January 7, '76

Mr. Borooah regretted that some Congressmen spoke of "garibi hatao" as though it was a meaningless jargon. Similarly the 20-point programme ran the risk of being treated as a platitude and not as an instrument of action.

Statesman, 2.2.76

Accidents in coal mines in 1975 were the highest in India in a century, according to official estimates. Six hundred and sixty coal miners lost their lives in 220 mining disasters during

their installed capacity. But still there is over production. Can capitalist economy get rid of this problem of over production especially at a period of this third phase of general crisis of world capitalism? No, by no means. Because the very basis of capitalist economy is market based, i.e. a market where maximum profit can be earned by selling the products. And people's purchasing power erodes and continues to erode because of capitalist exploitation.

In an economy where the motive force of production is only the maximum satisfaction of the people, does such a problem of over production arise? No.

So, will not the government help to the 'sick' industries only provide palliatives, so long capitalist motive force of production of earning maximum profit and the capitalist relations of production is maintained?....

the year.

Statesman, Jan. 3, '76

Mr. M.C. Chagla, who was then the Chief Justice of Bombay High Court and could not at that time have been charged with any partisan inclination had said: "There are two real safeguards that liberty has. One lies in the fact that the validity of an executive act can be challenged in a court of law. The other must lie in the eternal vigilance that the public must show in preventing executive and legislative encroachments upon liberty.

It is a mistake to think that if the liberty of an individual or of a section of the people is sacrificed the majority is unaffected. Every time there is a trespass upon the citadel of freedom, its every foundation is weakened and more and more trespasses are tolerated the weaker becomes the whole edifice till one day it collapses giving place to dictatorship or fascism and democracy lies in ruins."

(From an essay 'The Supreme Court' by R. L. Nigam)...Indian Express, 28.1.76.